

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

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AID-20 IO-13 RSR-01 /115 W

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R 150900Z AUG 73

FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 446

INFO AMCONSUL KARACHI

AMCONSUL LAHORE

AMEMBASSY DACCA

AMEMBASSY KABUL

AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT PFOR, PK, US, AF, BD, IN

SUBJ: BHUTTO'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS

SUMMARY: IN THIRTY MINUTE SPEECH ON OCCASION OF ASSUMPTION OF PRIME MINISTERSHIP, BHUTTO PORTRAYED HIMSELF AS DEVOTED TO DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES WHEREAS HIS OPPOSITION NOT PLAYING THE GAME. HE CHIDED THOSE WHO SAW CONSPIRACIES AND MYSTERIES IN GOP FOREIGN POLICY ACTIONS WHICH WERE DICTATED BY COMMON SENSE (CITING BANGLADESH, AFGHANISTAN, AND POSTPONEMENT OF JULY VISIT TO US.). SPEECH OBVIOUSLY TAILORED FOR MIDDLE CLASS WHICH HAS BECOME INCREASINGLY DISENCHANTED WITH EVIDENCE OF BHUTTO'S COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRACY IN PRACTICE. EMBASSY DOUBTS SPEECH WILL DISPEL CONCERNS BY POLITICAL OPPOSITION OR MANY EDUCATED PAKISTANIS OVER BHUTTO'S POLITICAL INTENTIONS. END SUMMARY.

1. PRIME MINISTER BHUTTO MADE THIRTY MINUTE RADIO/TELEVISION SPEECH IN ENGLISH ON AUGUST 14 TO MARK COMING INTO FORCE
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OF NEW CONSTITUTION AND HIS ASSUMPTION OF POSITION OF HEAD

OF GOVERNMENT. SPEECH WAS LARGELY LECTURE OF POLITICAL SHORTCOMINGS OF PAKISTAN AND PAKISTANIS. THESE HE ASCRIBED TO HIS POLITICAL OPPONENTS IMPLYING THAT HE AND HIS PEOPLES' PARTY WERE FAITHFUL PROPONENTS OF DEMOCRACY DESPITE DIFFICULTIES RAISED BY HIS OPPOSITION.

2. BHUTTO SAID HIS POLITICAL STYLE EMBODIED FOLLOWING METHODOLOGY AND GOALS: DECISION BY CONSENSUS OR BY MAJORITY VIEW; FREE DIALOGUE AND DEBATE; REMOVAL OF REGIONAL DISPARTITIES; AND PEACEFUL POLITICAL CHANGE AND ORDERLY SUCCESSION OF GOVERNMENTS. BHUTTO EMPHASIZED THAT "DEMOCRACY WORKS WITHIN DISCIPLINE". HE SAID THAT DEMOCRACY COULD NOT BE SUSTAINED IF A POLITICAL MINORITY REFUSES TO RECOGNIZE ITS MINORITY POSITION, IF ONE PARTY OR GROUP WILL NOT AGREE TO WAIT UNTIL FUTURE ELECTIONS, IF EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY INDIVIDUALS OR GROUPS PLOT WITH SOLDIERS AND CIVIL SERVANTS TO SEIZE POWER, AND IF SEPARATIST MOVEMENTS ARE PERMITTED TO FUNCTION. BHUTTO THREATENED POLITICAL OPPOSITION THAT IF IT REJECTS DIALOGUE AND ACCOMMODATION AND CHOOSES CONFRONTATION "WE SHALL FACE THEM AT ALL LEVELS AND AT ALL FRONTS. LET NONE IMAGINE THAT THE PAKISTAN PEOPLES' PARTY HAS BECOME A MINORITY OUTSIDE THE LEGISLATURE." (COMMENT: THIS IS BHUTTO'S REPLY TO JOINT OPPOSITION THREAT TO CONDUCT MASS ACTION CAMPAIGN AGAINST HIS GOVERNMENT BEGINNING AUGUST 24. IN VIEW OF SERIOUS FLOODS IN PUNJAB APPEARS PROBABLE OPPOSITION WILL DELAY PLANNED CAMPAIGN.)

3. HE SAID UPPERMOST PROBLEM HE FACES IS INFLATION. HE CRITICIZED POLITICAL OPPOSITION FOR TAKING CONSISTENTLY NEGATIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD ANY INITIATIVES PROPOSED BY THE GOVERNMENT ON PRICES OR OTHER MATTERS. IN BHUTTO'S VIEW, ALL POLITICAL PARTIES SHOULD SEGREGATE THOSE AREAS WHICH REQUIRE SUPPORT TO GOVERNMENT FROM THOSE WHICH CAN ADMIT PARTISAN CONTROVERSY. IN THE FORMER CATEGORY, HE SAID, WERE POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE, NATIONAL INTEGRITY, CIVILIAN POLITICAL SUPREMACY, FOREIGN RELATIONS, ATTACK ON SOCIAL EVILS AND SUBVERSION.

4. BHUTTO MADE APPEAL FOR COOPERATION TO THREE SPECIFIC LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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GROUPS IN PAKISTAN SOCIETY. TO JOURNALISTS, HE INDICATED BELIEF PAKISTANI PRESS INSUFFICIENTLY MATURE TO OPERATE WITH COMPLETE FREEDOM. HOWEVER, HE EMPHASIZED THAT JOURNALISTS AND PRESS ENJOY CONSIDERABLY GREATER FREEDOM NOW THAN UNDER PREVIOUS GOVERNMENTS. HE ADVISED STUDENTS TO ABHORE PREJUDICES WHICH WERE EXPLOITED BY REACTIONARY POLITICIANS. AND FINALLY, HE REITERATED HIS SUPPORT TO WORKING CLASS AND CALLED ON THIS GROUP TO

INCREASE PRODUCTION.

5. IN COMMENTING ON FOREIGN POLICY, BHUTTO CITED SEVERAL EXAMPLES OF HOW OPPOSITION POLITICANS HAD DELIBERATELY MISINTERPRETED CERTAIN DECISIONS TAKEN BY GOP. DISCUSSING POSTPONEMENT OF HIS JULY VISIT TO US, BHUTTO COMMENTED "IN ANY COUNTRY A DEVELOPMENT OF THIS NATURE (I.E., POST-PONEMENT) WOULD HAVE EVOKED LITTLE COMMENT EXCEPT AN EXPRESSION OF REGRET ON THE HOST'S ILLNESS. BUT WHAT HAPPENED IN PAKISTAN? HERE SPECULATION WAS LET LOOSE; A MYSTERY WAS SUSPECTED WHERE NONE EXISTED AND MANY A POLITICAN VIED WITH MANY AN EDITORIAL WRITER IN NOT ONLY PUTTING HIS FOOT INTO HIS MOUTH BUT INSISTING ON KEEPING IT THERE. I ASK YOU, MY BROTHERS AND SISTERS, DOES IT NOT OFFEND YOUR PRIDE, DOES IT NOT OUTRAGE YOUR SENSE OF NATIONALISM, THAT YOU LEND YOUR EAR TO SUCH INSANE AND ASININE COMMENTS?"

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6. BHUTTO SAID THAT INTERNALLY PAKISTAN HAS ALTERNATIVES IN ADDRESSING ITS DIFFICULTIES BUT IN EXTERNAL RELATIONS THERE ARE "NO ALTERNATIVES" TO POLICIES ALREADY ADOPTED. TURNING TO AFGHANISTAN, HE STATED COUP WAS "AN INTERNAL

AFFAIR OF THAT COUNTRY AND WE WOULD NO MORE WISH TO INTERFERE IN IT THAN WE WOULD LET AFGHANISTAN INTERFERE IN OURS. WE, THEREFORE, TOOK THE ONLY REASONABLE COURSE OPEN TO US IN RECOGNIZING THE NEW GOVERNMENT IN KABUL, CONVEYING OUR FRIENDLY SENTIMENTS TO IT AND ASSURING IT OF OUR COOPERATION IN SCHEMES AND PROJECTS OF MUTUAL BENEFIT. AT THE SAME TIME, WE HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT, IF, DESPITE OUR EFFORTS, OUR RELATIONS WITH AFGHANISTAN SHOULD DETERIORATE, WE ARE FULLY CAPABLE OF MEETING THE SITUATION. NOW, IN A HEALTHY ENVIRONMENT, THIS SHOULD HAVE PUT QUIETUS TO ALL KINDS OF SPECULATIONS WHICH, IF UNCHECKED, POSE THE DANGER OF HAMPERING OUR DIALOGUE WITH THE CONCERNED GOVERNMENT. BUT DID IT? I CANNOT BUT BE SADDENED BY THE THOUGHT THAT WE IN PAKISTAN HAVE NOT YET LEARNED TO TAKE THINGS IN OUR STRIDE."

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7. MOVING TO BANGLADESH, BHUTTO COMMENTED " THEN THERE IS THE EXAMPLE OF THE ISSUE OF BANGLADESH. HAPPILY, THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY HAS ADOPTED A RESOLUTION EMPOWERING THE GOVERNMENT TO EXTEND DE JURE RECOGNITION TO BANGLADESH AT THE APPROPRIATE TIME. BUT WHISPERINGS STILL CONTINUE AND GRAFFITI CAN BE SEEN ON THE WALLS AGAINST THE ACCEPTANCE OF A REALITY. WHAT COURAGE LIES THERE IN THE REFUSAL TO FACE REALITIES? I ASK THOSE WHO POSE AS THE CHAMPIONS OF PAKISTAN: HAVE YOU NO RECOURSE EXCEPT TO AN OSTRICH-LIKE ATTITUDE? MUST YOUR WORK YOURSELVES INTO A FRENZY OVER AN ISSUE WHEN A RATIONAL JUDGMENT CAN SOLVE THE PROBLEM? WHY DO YOU FORGET THAT OTHER PEOPLE ARE MOVED BY AS POWERFUL PASSIONS AS YOU YOURSELVES?"

8. COMMENT: BHUTTO'S INAUGURAL LECTURE WAS OBVIOUSLY ADDRESSED TO PAKISTAN'S MIDDLE CLASS WHO HAVE BECOME INCREASINGLY SUSPECT OF BHUTTO'S COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES. ALTHOUGH HIS POLITICAL OPPOSITION IS GUILTY OF MOST OF CHARGES BHUTTO MADE, BHUTTO'S RECORD DURING PAST YEAR AND ONE HALF MIXED AT BEST. HIS POLITICAL OPPONENTS CANNOT FORGET (OR FORGIVE) HIS REMOVAL OF MAJORITY GOVERNMENT IN BALUCHISTAN FOLLOWING RIGGED INCIDENTS. NOR DO THEY TAKE LIGHTLY TRUMPED UP LEGAL CASES AGAINST OPPONENTS OF GOVERNMENT, LARGE NUMBER ARRESTS OF POLITICAL ACTIVISTS, INABILITY OF OPPOSITION TO CONDUCT PUBLIC MEETINGS EITHER BECAUSE OF DISRUPTION OF SUCH MEETINGS BY PPP OR IMPOSITION OF SECTION 144, AND USE BY GOP OF GOVERNMENT-OWNED PRESS AND RADIO/TELEVISION AS WEAPONS AGAINST POLITICAL OPPOSITION. UNHAPPILY, SUBSTANCE OF PAKISTANI POLITICS HAS CHANGED LITTLE UNDER BHUTTO; TO DATE, HE HAS DEMONSTRATED MERELY GREATER SCRUPULOSITY IN OBSERVING SOME FORMS OF DEMOCRACY THAN HIS PREDECESSORS. EMBASSY DOUBTS

THAT THIS OR ANOTHER SPEECH BY BHUTTO ON DEMOCRACY WILL
CONVINCE EITHER POLITICAL OPPOSITION OR MANY IN MIDDLE
CLASS OF SINCERITY OF HIS WORDS.
SOBER

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